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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 1934.1

THE CLANDESTINE NAZI MOVEMENT IN POST-WAR GERMANY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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Description

An analysis of probable Nazi post-war objectives and the form which their resistance movement is likely to take.

13 October 1944

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SUMMARY

1. The available intelligence shows that the Nazi Party plans to form a clandestine movement after military defeat to combat Germans who cooperate with the Allies and to compromise occupation policies in the eyes of the German people.

2. Preparations are now in progress to decentralize the Nazi Party in order to create local defense groups which will be used to coerce Germans into supporting the Nazi aims as well as resisting the occupation forces. These groups will probably be led by agents who are specially trained in clandestine techniques.

3. The aims of the post-war Nazi movement would be to prepare for political developments, both within and without Germany, which would allow the remilitarization of Germany and the continuation of Nazi policies. The movement, therefore, may express not merely the historic aims of the Nazi Party, but the aspirations of those sections of German society which have advocated militant authoritarianism in Germany and aggressive expansion abroad. Popular support may, therefore, be obtained from important groups in Germany outside the Nazi Party.

4. The resistance may take the form of guerrilla warfare waged by small bands of fanatical Nazis who refuse to accept military defeat. In view of the difficulties of such resistance under military occupation, however, it is more likely that the movement will adopt a clandestine form. By use of such devices as secret agents, infiltration into established institutions and administrative agencies, and the formation of camouflaged groups, the Nazis would be in a position to liquidate any Germans who cooperate with the Allies, to sabotage occupation policies, and to prevent the

establishment of an anti-Nazi government in Germany.

5. The current Nazi propaganda based on the proclamation of the "people's war" is designed to obtain popular support for "unconditional resistance" by the Germans under Nazi direction. The appeals may bring continued resistance after the war by the many professional activists in Germany who have fought before for the revival of German military power after defeat.

THE CLANDESTINE NAZI MOVEMENT IN POST-WAR GERMANY

I. THE POSSIBILITY OF POST-WAR RESISTANCE

A. The Objectives of Post-war Resistance

On the basis of available intelligence,[1] it may be stated that the Nazis intend to go underground after the German surrender. Their objectives would be:

1. To disrupt and compromise Allied Military Government;
2. To discredit, ostracize, and "liquidate" all German groups and individuals which cooperate with Allied authorities;
3. To organize and carry out guerrilla warfare and sabotage;
4. To prepare political developments within and without Germany which would allow the re-militarization of Germany and the continuation of Nazi policies.

To achieve these objectives, the post-war resistance is likely to be directed against both the occupation forces and the democratic forces in Germany, and it will be the chief aim of Nazi activities to prevent or postpone the establishment of a firm anti-Nazi government in Germany.

The incentive for the formation and direction of post-war resistance will obviously be provided by members and groups in the Nazi Party who have long been trained in the belief that Germany must play a dominant role in world affairs. The movement, however, may express not merely the aims of the former Nazi Party, but the aspirations of those sections of German society which have advocated a militant authoritarianism in Germany and aggressive expansion

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1. The evidence to support the conclusion that the Nazis intend to go underground is derived from (1) statements by such high government officials as Goebbels and Himmler, (2) an analysis of the Nazi Party and its patterns of political action, (3) intelligence reports concerning developments in Germany which could be utilized for a clandestine movement, and (4) the historical precedents of support which groups in the German social structure have given to clandestine nationalistic activism after military defeat.

abroad. Motivated by the traditions of nationalism and the desire to regain the interests lost in the destruction of Germany's international position, groups such as the Junkers, officer corps, industrialists, and dispossessed elements of the middle class are most likely to strive for the revival of German military power. A clandestine Nazi movement thus may provide the screen behind which all the forces of reaction and aggression unite.

B. The Nazi Party and Post-war Resistance

The basic reason for believing that the Nazi Party will organize a post-war resistance lies in a consideration of the Party's aims and the place they occupy in the development of German nationalistic doctrines. The Nazi aims are not the mere rationalizations of a group of gangsters who have seized power, but are the expression of the nationalistic aspirations of many Germans. The concepts of racial nationalism, the leadership state, and aggressive military power, which are the core of Nazi doctrine, were not originated by the Party, but antedate its existence by many years and express the interests and policies of powerful imperialist groups in Germany. In the period after the German defeat in 1918, the Nazis coordinated the hundreds of groups in Germany which nourished these concepts and sought to destroy the peace settlement and overthrow the Weimar state.

The acceptance of the Nazi appeals by specific sectors of the German population was largely dependent on the success of the Party in implementing its program. The defeat of Germany and the dissolution of the Party will cause the great mass of its "unpolitical" supporters to turn to other programs which may appear to be of more immediate value to them, but it will not deter influential social and political groups, which backed the Nazi movement

from its very beginning, from trying new forms and means for the continuation of their policy. They will probably be able to count on the loyalty of the convinced Nazis or those individuals whose entire education and political training have been conducted under Nazi auspices.

1. The Continuity of Clandestine Military Activity. After the last war, the spontaneous reaction of many officers and professional soldiers, as well as of other anti-democratic nationalist circles, to the Allied restrictions on German military power and to the changes in the old frontiers resulted in the formation of volunteer military groups, or Free Corps. These groups continued the war after the German surrender, fighting to prevent any territorial changes or any democratic alteration in the German political and social structure.

The Free Corps, numbering as many as 400,000 men in 1919-20, were originally sanctioned by the German Government to serve as transitional defense forces pending an Allied decision on the extent of the armed force to be permitted in Germany. In 1920, the German Government, acting after Allied pressure, attempted to suppress the corps. The activists, who had dedicated themselves to the violent reconstruction of German power, refused to accept the dissolution of their organizations. The Free Corps and secret military leagues continued to operate throughout the republican period as an "underground" seeking the destruction of the peace structure, the rearmament of Germany, and the overthrow of the republic which had accepted a secondary role for Germany in Europe.[1]

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1. A detailed description of the pattern of activity by nationalistic forces is given in a separate report, R&A 1934.2, The Pattern of Illegal Anti-Democratic Activity in Germany after the Last War.

The Nazis have popularized and glorified the activities of the "post-war fighters" (Nachkriegskämpfer) of 1919, hailing them as the predecessors of National Socialism. Many of these men, refusing to accept the dissolution of their groups, entered the Nazi Party after 1923; a number of them rose to positions of prominence, while others provided recruits for the SA and SS. In the Weimar Republic, business leaders placed many Free Corps men in key positions in economic administration, such as in the trade associations and Chambers of Commerce, and the Nazis have continued this practice.

Aggressive nationalism may again flourish in Germany under military occupation. There has been no complete military occupation of Germany for nearly a century and a half, but there are the precedents of the Allied occupation of the Rhineland after the last war and the French occupation of the Ruhr (1923) which evoked violent nationalistic reactions. The complete occupation of Germany and the regulation of political and economic life will provide battlefields which have not existed since the Germans began to accumulate and perfect their traditions of chauvinist nationalism. The fear of partition, changes in boundaries, and the presence of Allied troops on German soil may serve to revive the conceptions of pan-Germanism which will find their most effective weapon in a Nazi resistance movement.

The pattern of post-war resistance established after the last war will not, however, necessarily be reproduced after the present conflict. In 1919, the Allies relied on pressure on the German Government to carry out the major provisions of the treaty and to prevent the accumulation of illegal arms. In the absence of effective controls German disarmament was not completely carried out, and the German Government proved incapable of preventing the growth of illegal military forces. The persistence in the administration

of groups favorable to the objectives of the Free Corps made their suppression almost impossible. After the present war, the presence of occupation forces and controls within Germany and the de-Nazification of the German administration will make difficult the formation and activity of such volunteer military organizations as the Free Corps. Obviously, the Nazi resistance will be forced to utilize forms of organization which are not as easily detected as Free Corps.

2. Personnel. The Nazi Party provides a vast potential source from which personnel for a resistance movement could be drawn.[1] Hundreds of thousands of Germans have belonged to the Party formations since 1933, have been trained in Nazi doctrines, and have become dependent on Nazi group controls for their direction and employment. The dissolution of the Party will remove the controls but not the effects of a decade of the exercise of power in Germany. The leadership of a post-war resistance movement will in all probability be furnished by Nazis who have been trained as professional activists and who may escape immediate detection because they did not hold any conspicuous position. The intimate connections between the Nazi leadership and German industry and the landed aristocracy can provide such individuals with financial support from important sections of the German population.

An obvious source of personnel is the SS, whose members are trained in the methods of espionage and coercion. The training of SS officers in the Napoli (National Political Institutes) and the Ordensburgen schools to fight for "Eternal Germany" has produced in the SS man an ideal type

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1. The various organizations and formations are described in the Civil Affairs Handbook, Germany, Section 2A, The National Socialist Party.

of professional subversive agent, filled with a sense of destiny which can not easily be destroyed and equipped with a daring method which can be combatted only by force.[1]

The SS is not the only source of Nazi personnel for a clandestine movement. The training of the Hitler Youth has produced a group fanatically devoted to Hitler and the cause of National Socialism and unwilling to believe possible the final defeat of Germany.[2] Recruits may also be drawn from the SA and the many paramilitary formations. It is likely, however, that personnel will not be drawn exclusively from one group, but that prior to defeat special formations will be created from many sources.[3]

II. PREPARATIONS FOR POST-WAR RESISTANCE

A. The Plan of Post-war Resistance

The Nazi Party is reported to have formulated a post-defeat plan (Nach Niederlage Plan or NN Plan) which envisages a post-war underground in Germany with connections with sympathetic movements in foreign states. Trusted Party members, drawn from the SS, Hitler Youth, and other formations, are to be enrolled under the supervision of a special office (Abteilung IV) in the Reich chief security office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt).[4] While the existence of this special agency has not been confirmed by independent

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1. Examples of the effects of SS training are found in CID 67360, 28 March; CID 66665, 6 March 1944.
2. Prisoner interrogations show a high degree of loyalty to the Nazi cause among younger soldiers (18-25). A typical example is in CID 62064, 27 February 1944.
3. See below, p. 7 ff.
4. OSS #35943, 22 July 1944. The Army is said to play a key role in this plan. In 1943, according to French sources, General von Stülpnagel, one-time military commander in Occupied France, was put in charge of the Army's post-war activities. CID 78708, 31 May 1944.

sources, the proposal to continue the war by any available means is a dominant theme in Nazi propaganda to the Germans. Other reports indicate that a centralized control has been established for post-war resistance.

It is stated in various reports that Hitler's plan for resistance calls for the continuation of fighting by partisan bands in southern Germany and Austria and for "permanent resistance" by an underground movement with ramifications throughout Europe.[1] If these reports are true, such a future clandestine movement would best be prepared by the decentralization of the Party prior to defeat.

1. Decentralization of the Party and Creation of Special Security Organizations. Following the dissolution of the Party by MG, a Nazi clandestine movement can operate only through small groups or individual action. In recent months, the Nazis have utilized the demands of total war to decentralize many Party functions, particularly by shifting a part of the responsibility for local defense and security to local groups in the Party. This process, ostensibly designed to provide control of foreign workers or civil defense during air raids, may serve the purpose of a post-war resistance movement by creating bodies which can function without the former centralized direction of Party machinery. In addition, the creation of local security organizations has made possible the training and arming of an increasing number of civilians.

The first local security organizations were the Landwacht (Rural Guard) and Stadtwacht (City Guard) formed under the direction of Himmler. The members of these groups

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1. Interview with Anton von Knyphausen, former Helsinki correspondent of the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, European News Digest, 9 July 1944; CID 92845, 19 September 1944; OWI Cable, Bern, 13 September; OSS #38170, 6 September; OSS Source B 44803 states that reliable members of the SS and SD are being recruited for this task; for the Nazi resolution to fight to the bitter end, see CID 87269, 1 August 1944; Journal De Geneve, 18 September 1944.

received training in the use of firearms; their function was to supplement the regular police controls over foreign workers and prisoners of war. In some areas, the defense commissioners have decreed that all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five must join the Landwacht. Since March 1944, the SA has been entrusted with the task of instructing the local security groups, as well as the entire civilian population, in the use of firearms in the hope of inspiring them with "the spirit of militant self-defense."[1] The citizens are organized into small groups (Wehrstürme) for military training under the supervision of the SA.[2] In the past year, the SA has emerged from its many years of political eclipse and is now taking an increasingly important place in local political leadership. Recent reports, however, indicate that the SA may have been combined with other local defense groups into "Emergency and Defense Units" (Not- und Wehrgemeinschaften) in each Gau to receive military instruction and political enlightenment from the SS.[3]

The membership of the local security organizations is not exclusively identified with the Nazi Party. Since they may not be subject to the same strict measures designed by the occupation authorities for the dissolution of the more obvious Party formations, they may be able to provide a cover for the operation of trained Nazis.

Following the attempt on Hitler's life (20 July) many new security formations came into existence which may be able to continue the struggle for Nazi aims either by going

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1. DNB, 31 March 1944, as quoted in News Digest #1410.
2. An example may be found in the action of the Party district leader in Meldorf. Schleswig-Holsteinische Tageszeitung, 24 August 1944, in European News Digest, 2 September 1944.
3. Oldenburgische Staatszeitung, 14 September 1944, (Press Intell. Cable).

underground or fighting as partisan bands. The official reason for the decentralization of the civil defense and security service is to utilize the local groups as the fundamental units in the "Holy War" for the defense of the Fatherland. Ex-soldiers in the Nazi war relief organization (NSKOV) have been organized into "marching sections" and "shooting sections" to fight the war on the holy soil.[1] Specially trained units composed of fanatical armed Nazis are reported to have been established and to have set up centrally located ammunition dumps.[2] Paramilitary formations have been created in all local districts and attached to the district leaders of the Party for security purposes.[3] Other special units such as the SA Sturmbann zur besonderen Verfügung (SA Sturmbann for Special Tasks), the armed Hitler youth, and the Parteibereitschaften have been organized on a local basis.[4] One of the most significant developments affecting post-war resistance is the formation of the Politische Staffel (Political Squads) to serve as "the powerful shock troops" of the Party officials.[5] A squad consists of thirty men chosen in each Kreis by the Kreisleiter from "the most reliable political leaders, who, in view of their many years of experience, their special

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1. OSS Source H, 23 August 1944. The report states that the marching sections contain 320,000 men; 400,000 men are enrolled in 4,000 shooting sections.
2. CID 82542. The Berlin unit is said to be located at Tempelhof. The Journal de Geneve, 9 August 1944, says a special unit of SS men under Bernhard Stredele has been established at Berchtesgaden to protect the Führer.
3. These organizations, Ortsmannschaften, Kreismannschaften, Gaumannschaften, are given military training and rifle practice. Völkischer Beobachter (Munich edition), 16 June 1944, Press Intell. Cable.
4. National Zeitung, Essen, 26 July 1944, quoted in News Digest #1505.
5. Völkischer Beobachter (Munich Edition), 19 July 1944, quoted in News Digest, #1510.

efficiency and energy, and definite suitability for the tasks of leadership," qualify them to cope with the problems of local defense. Other reports speak of the formation of new defense units called "The German People's Grenadiers" (Deutsche Volksgrenadiere) for which only the "best" and "most healthy" men are accepted. According to the German domestic radio, these new groups are being trained to protect vital installations in the Ruhr and Rhineland and to oppose the occupation of Germany by "Jewish" troops.[1]

2. The Training of Agents. There have been numerous intelligence reports that the Nazis are training leaders for future resistance in the schools for the Party elite. The graduates of these schools, who are relatively unknown to the German public, are drawn from the Nazi movement in Germany and the occupied and satellite states. The agents selected for special training are said to be chosen from the SS, Hitler Youth, and particularly from the SD (Sicherheitsdienst).[2]

The logical training schools for future illegal work are the Ordensburgen schools and the SD training center at Pertsch. It is reported that young Nazis are being instructed in these schools in underground techniques which the Germans have learned from the anti-Nazi underground in Europe,[3] and the German experiences in opposing the occupation forces in the Rhineland and Ruhr after the last war.[4]

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1. Svenska Dagbladet, 17 September 1944, quoting Kölnische Zeitung, (News Digest #1556); DNB, to Germany, 29 September, FCC: Daily, 30 September 1944.
2. XL 1569, 11 September 1944; OSS Source B 44803, 16 September 1944.
3. OSS #38398, 5 September 1944; OSS #38170, 6 September 1944.
4. The SS leader Werner Best published articles in the Zeitschrift für völkische Verfassung und Verwaltung in 1943 on the resistance and sabotage activities of the Free Corps in the Rhineland and Ruhr, CID 58113, 31 January 1944.

In addition to the Ordensburgen schools, special centers are said to have been established, particularly at Küstrin[1] and Obersalzburg. The nucleus of the resistance movement is said to be trained at the Ordensburg Sonthofen, the Junkerschule at Bad Toelz, and the Führerschule Schloss Neubeuren.[2]

3. The Transfer of Funds Abroad. Many reports state that the transfer of funds abroad by the Nazis is an indication of the formation of a future illegal Nazi movement.[3] The press in Sweden and Switzerland speaks of the "gigantic sums" which have been sent by various devices to banks in neutral states.[4]

Although the flow of funds abroad presents a serious problem for the future international controls in Germany, there is no way of ascertaining whether the funds are to be used to finance a post-war underground or represent simply the normal flow of capital from a country which anticipates defeat. If they are to be used for subversive purposes, it is doubtful whether the Nazis would use such obvious means of transfer and deposit. It is probable that ample financial support will be found in Germany. However, Nazi funds deposited in camouflaged accounts or in the name of German residents or business firms in neutral states could be used to finance subversive Nazi activities outside Germany and to support Nazi refugees.

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1. OSS #38398, 5 September 1944.
2. OWI Bern cable, 13 September 1944. A Czech report states that Dr. Appel, an SS official and former director of Landesgruppe Schweden of the Gestapo, has been put in charge of training and elevated to the rank of Ministerialrat in the Propaganda Ministry. CID 91960, 26 July 1944. A report on preparations in Austria is in CID 91264, 19 August 1944.
3. OSS #37686, 18 July 1944.
4. Stockholm Aftontidningen, 19 June 1944 (Press Intell. Cable); Ny Dag, 11 July 1944 (Press Intell. Cable); Moscow wire #2673, 20 July 1944; London Financial News, 18 July 1944.

B. A Neo-Nazi Movement

The revived Nazi Party after the war will not necessarily adopt the organization and doctrines which characterized the Party during its struggle for power and its rule of Germany. Many of the historic features of Party action will be discredited by defeat, while the familiar tactics will have to be adapted to the conditions of military occupation. In order to operate after defeat, a neo-Nazi movement will by necessity have to adopt new slogans and new tactics.

1. The Use of Subversive Techniques. Although the Nazi Party has no tradition of underground activity in Germany, the methods it adopted to seize power before 1933 may be useful after the present war to continue resistance under military occupation. In political operations within Germany it was not necessary for the Party to operate in a clandestine fashion except for a short period following the Munich Putsch of 1923. Instead, the Party was able to achieve its objectives by a clever manipulation of democratic rights and privileges. Relying on the propaganda of racial discrimination, nationalism, and military power, the Nazis were able to persuade an increasing number of people to support their cause. Behind the propaganda, however, was the constant threat of force which the Nazis did not hesitate to use. Their paramilitary formations and terror apparatus were present to attack political enemies or to seize power if Hitler failed to win by speeches and votes.

In addition to direct participation in politics, the Nazis used many subversive techniques to extend their power or to establish controls over associations and institutions. Party agents infiltrated into various agencies to prepare for the ultimate seizure of power. Secret cells were established in strategic organizations, such as the police

force and the national and local civil service, which hindered any effective regulation or control of Nazi activities by the Weimar state. In general, however, the Nazis relied on their direct political activity and the support of their friends in the government and in business to overthrow the republican government.

In areas outside of Germany, the Nazis perfected the techniques of underground activity. Following the dissolution of the Party in Austria in 1934, the Nazis went underground. Secret groups of the SA and Hitler Youth were formed, camouflaging themselves as sports groups, hiking clubs, and the like. Arms and ammunition were collected from police stores or contributed by sympathetic individuals.[1] In other countries, the Auslandsorganisation (AO) of the Nazi Party under Wilhelm Bohle utilized techniques of espionage and coercion both in providing information for the intelligence service and in extending Nazi influences abroad. The AO operated secretly in countries where the Nazi Party was prohibited.

After the present war the Nazi Party will have at its disposal a supply of arms scattered throughout Germany for the use of the police and security forces, including the SS and the various paramilitary organizations. Prior to defeat, arms may be stored in secret dumps or in the homes of Party members who are designated to carry on post-war resistance.[2] The Party will also have at its disposal an efficient terror apparatus in the security service of the SS, which is accustomed to acting in secret.

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1. CID 94227, 22 September 1944, describes the underground operations of the Nazis in Austria; see also "Nazi Subversive Techniques, Past and Present," CID 47635, 30 October 1943.
2. OSS Source B 44380, 31 August 1944; CID 91960, 26 July 1944.

The Party furthermore possesses regular facilities for the issuance of false identity papers in its espionage and counter-espionage activities.[1] These facilities can be utilized by the agents to conceal their identity, thus enabling them to escape the de-Nazification process. Prior to defeat, the agents could be provided with false papers which would make their detection difficult, particularly in the urban areas. It is definitely known that the destruction of police records in the bombing of Germany has enabled many Germans to move elsewhere and establish new identities. The Nazis will undoubtedly utilize this circumstance to provide cover for their agents.

2. The Forms of Neo-Nazi Resistance. On the basis of the intelligence reports outlined above, the resistance movement may utilize the following techniques:

a. Resistance Groups. The basic unit in the Nazi resistance will probably be a small group of people operating under the command of an agent who is specially trained for his task. These groups would be semi-independent and able to operate without communications with other groups. While they may engage in the obvious practices of underground warfare, such as sabotage and terrorism against the occupation forces, it is more likely that their chief function will be to serve as a terror apparatus in coercing Germans to support their activities or in eliminating Germans who cooperate with the Allies. The agents trained in the Party schools or drawn from the SS and SD would be suited for this terroristic work.

b. Infiltration. The Nazi resistance will probably attempt to place agents in strategic positions in various

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1. CID 60284, 19 February 1944.

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agencies and institutions where they would be able to sabotage the occupation policy and the emergence of a democratic Germany. In terms of this objective, such persons would be most useful to the neo-Nazi movement in the administrative services, the cultural institutions, and in business. Others may seek to infiltrate institutions which will not necessarily be subject to strict de-Nazification, such as local relief and charitable organizations. The reserve technical personnel on the German railways and public utilities, at present a secret and draft-deferred group trained to combat sabotage, may provide the agents with excellent opportunities for the sabotage of vital installations.[1]

The method of infiltration is perhaps the most dangerous form of the prospective neo-Nazi movement. The Nazis would use persons who are not openly identified with the Hitler regime, and whose attitudes would not be openly Nazi. They might conceal their aims behind seemingly neutral and technical arguments: for example, sabotage of the administrative machine by insisting on complicated bureaucratic procedures; sabotage of the economy by fostering conflicts between management and labor; protection of Nazis under the pretense that they were indispensable experts, etc. At the same time, these persons would doubtless try to coerce other people in their field of activity to support their policies and to work for the revival of Germany's power.

c. Camouflaged Groups. In addition to infiltration, the Nazi resistance may use the device of group camouflage in order to extend both their controls and appeals to the German people. The most familiar types of group camouflage

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1. CID 93835, 15 July 1944.

in Germany are the sports associations, cultural associations, and nationalistic youth societies. Hundreds of these organizations were formed after the last war to teach the German youth the traditions of aggressive nationalism and to provide military training in defiance of the treaty.

The camouflaged groups of the Nazi resistance movement may take several forms:

(1) Non-political groups. Chambers of commerce, business associations, engineering and technical societies, private charitable organizations, middle-class occupational associations, and veterans societies and even religious groups may be utilized as a cover for neo-Nazi activities. Such groups would be susceptible to Nazi policies but would not be publicly compromised to the same extent as the Party itself.

(2) Kulturvereine, or cultural associations, dedicated to the perpetuation of national traditions may serve as camouflage. The neo-Nazi movement after the war will undoubtedly subordinate the known features of current Nazi doctrines and concentrate on the nationalist orientation based on German historic precedents. Since the nationalistic tradition is strong in academic circles, a camouflage may be found in academic societies, particularly those most concerned with the heroic aspects of German history.

(3) Political groups. In the past, the Nazis have worked successfully through many small rightist parties which were finally absorbed into the Nazi Party. In collaboration with the Deutschnationale Volkspartei, the Nazis were able to vote Hitler into power in 1933. With the revival of political life in Germany, the leaders and personnel of the former rightist-nationalist parties who have remained in the Nazi Party since 1933 or sympathized with its objectives may

attempt to reform their old political groups or to form new ones designed to fit the political needs arising from defeat and military occupation.

d. Collaboration. Camouflaged neo-Nazism may also assume the form of collaboration with the Allied occupation authorities. This may be expected especially if strong democratic forces emerge in Germany and anti-Nazi sentiment sweeps the country. The Nazis may then attempt to use the Bolshevization bogey to make themselves acceptable to the occupation authorities. Here again, they would use persons not compromised by overt Nazi activity and ideology (old civil servants, businessmen, technicians, etc.). Such a policy of collaboration would also be in line with a powerful political trend in present-day Germany. Intelligence reports show the existence of an opinion in Germany that collaboration with the western powers may result in the acceptance of Germany as a partner in an Anglo-American coalition against the Soviet Union, thus making possible the preservation of Germany as a powerful military state. This policy might be utilized to create dissension among the Allied states over the tripartite occupation policy, and to prevent the establishment of a stable anti-Nazi German government.

The aim of creating dissension among the Allied states would be aided by the international connections of the Nazi movement. These international connections are based on an identity of aims with anti-democratic groups in other states rather than on an international movement centrally organized by the Nazis. These groups would skillfully adapt their propaganda to the political situations in various countries and would try to promote international and domestic trends favorable to the Nazi cause.

III. POPULAR SUPPORT FOR POST-WAR RESISTANCE

The successful existence of a Nazi resistance movement depends on the strength of the anti-Nazi forces among the German people. Many important groups, such as labor groups and the Catholic political movement, may be expected to oppose the Nazis. The great mass of the German population will probably accept defeat, interest itself chiefly in how to get food and jobs, and adopt a "wait and see" attitude toward the Nazis.

There remain, however, important sections of German society which may support movements for the revival of German military and political power. Unless revolutionary changes occur in Germany prior to defeat and military occupation, the social groups which supported the Nazis in the past will continue to exist and be in a position to exert powerful influence.

A. The Industrialists and Landed Aristocracy

Many prominent industrial leaders have avoided conspicuous identification with the Nazi regime and may therefore escape de-Nazification. German industrialists as a group, however, have a long anti-democratic and imperialistic record, and the recovery of their empire depends on the revival of Germany's international power position.

After the last war, German industrialists and financiers gave money and employment to the Free Corps and secret military leagues to aid their fight against the restrictions of the treaty and the democratic state in Germany. The same groups financed the Nazi Party, seeing in it a powerful instrument for the protection of their interests. The Party was repeatedly saved from bankruptcy by the contributions of the industrialists, and in 1933 Hitler was finally maneuvered into the Chancellory by influential circles in the industrial and financial leadership.

Since 1933, the Nazis have transformed German business into a political instrument. Business leaders have obtained important positions in the government bureaucracy, while the Nazis have placed trusted Party members in key positions in business organizations. Working under the cover of political neutrality, the nationalistic and militaristic business circles would possess excellent opportunities for camouflaging their support of Nazi resistance.

Next to industrialists, the greatest support for the establishment of a militarist society which culminated in the Nazi regime came from the Junkers. Although the political power of the landed aristocracy has declined considerably under the Nazi regime until, at the present time, a large part of the landed aristocracy probably opposes the Nazi regime, the aims of the Junkers and the aims of the clandestine Nazi movement will be identical in that they both will aspire to the elimination of international controls and the reconstruction of German military power. The Junkers may support a Nazi resistance movement to achieve this objective.

B. Dispossessed Groups

The German defeat and the liquidation of the New Order in Europe will create in Germany a large group of dispossessed people. The Volksdeutsche who will be sent to Germany from neighboring states (Austria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc.) have provided the spearhead of Nazi expansion in Europe since 1933. Their ejection from their domiciles will probably make them highly susceptible to Nazi appeals for resistance to the Allies. Likewise, the Germans who may be dispossessed by territorial changes in such areas as East Prussia will provide potential support for a resistance movement. Within Germany, support may be

derived from dispossessed social groups whose property has either been wiped out during the war or expropriated by occupation policy or the future action of the German state. While the positive political orientation of the dispossessed groups under military occupation can not be ascertained at this time, it is not likely that it will be one of cooperation with the occupation forces or support of any German Government which cooperates with the Allies.

C. The "People's War"

German propaganda at the present time is obviously designed to persuade the maximum number of people to resist the Allies by any means. The proclamation of the "people's war," the formation of local defense groups, and the arming of civilians may be interpreted as preparation for "unconditional resistance."[1] The propaganda is not designed to appeal to any particular group or class, but to all nationalistic Germans. The slogan for post-war resistance may have been given in the statement of war aims by the Hakenkreuz Banner, which proclaims that the Nazis fight for "National Liberty, Security, and Equality for the German Nation and State."[2] If this slogan is adopted after the war, the Nazis will have a propaganda device as useful as their former emphasis on the destruction of "Versailles slavery" in obtaining popular support.

The propaganda of resistance stresses the actions of the Prussians in opposing French controls during the Napoleonic wars, quoting particularly the works of nationalist writers who extoll guerrilla warfare.[3] The existence of separatism in the Rhineland under military occupation after

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1. FCC: Daily, 26 September 1944, German home radio, 25 September 1944.
2. 9 September 1944 (Press Intell. Cable).
3. Völkischer Beobachter (Berlin) 7 September 1944, (Press Intell. Cable).

the last war has been vigorously denounced.[1] The Schwarze Korps promises that after this war in the occupied German districts "there will be no German civilian administration, no German executive, no German court, because those representing such organizations will hardly live until next month."[2] By emphasizing the historical precedents and arguments of national resistance to defeat and foreign occupation and threatening any effort toward cooperation the Nazi resistance movement may be able to enlist the support of the many activists in German society, comparable to those who have fought before by illegal means for the revival of German military power.

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1. FCC: Daily, 14 September 1944, DNB to Germany, 13 September, 1944.
2. FCC: Ticker, quoting Schwarze Korps, 4 October 1944.